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563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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people hardly to be distinguished from the Chinese, and the fact that many Ta Li Min Chia are bi-lingual, or have a store of "market Chinese" has strengthened this impression. It is none the less false. The language itself, though using many Chinese loan words, pronounces them in accordance with definite rules, and in a manner unintelligible to the Chinese, while more than half the vocabulary and the grammar of Min Chia is wholly unlike the Chinese language. As it is not and never has been a written language it has no doubt changed very extensively in the course of centuries, but a critical examination of the vocabulary and grammar shows that three elements originally quite distinct are found in the Min Chia language of to-day. These elements may be classified as :—

(1) A non-Sinitic polysyllabic language which may be called "Old Min Chia".
(2) Monosyllabic words resembling Cantonese, perhaps "old Chinese" loan words.
(3) Chinese loan words, derived from the Yunnanese dialect of Mandarin but which are pronounced in a Min Chia manner according to set rules.

These three elements are used, broadly, for three different categories of words. "Old Min Chia" words for example are confined to simple and primary ideas, the most used verbs, the names of animals, plants and parts of the body, and the prepositions. Many of these Old Min Chia words are polysyllabic, or it would be more accurate to say, appear to be so. As Min Chia has never been written down it is only possible to distinguish between monosyllabic words and polysyllabic by analysing the syllables which compose the latter class. If these syllables are not identifiable as words in themselves, then the word is classed as a polysyllabic word, and where the syllables can be shown to be

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THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. Preface.

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍溪寨, Mu Shang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei, Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'u Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ta'lo, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary Tusa Szu official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-hsuai 張伯苓博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1933 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

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186 Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only
[197] Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

193 I. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 羌, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 羌. A small third character is sometimes
[231] added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

174 There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理番廳志 卷四 邊防志二
Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Chi, Part Four.
史記四 周本紀第四
Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
中國民族史 第十一章 羌族
Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 301-2

Mewu

771 124 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 114 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory description of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 771 124 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course, difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

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when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, and take up the thread another time or with another person. In many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and would not have learned what were the most important things in the religious life of the laymen. 186 771 124

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits, nature demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important religious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere, and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions, combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other superstitions. 771

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene (he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of Lamaism. 776 753

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei, and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night, and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said, if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits, earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley, usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China. 000

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bömbu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic. [792] 754 627

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1) 186

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

•186 Kuangtung, where my guide, a Chinese from the neighborhood, was heartily reproached for having brought the rain-bringing stranger. The poor man was soundly thrashed even by his Chinese fellow citizens after he returned to his own village.

151 The customs observed to ward off or eliminate misfortune or invoke good fortune are a hodgepodge of ideas taken from popular religion and Lamaism. Both religions exist side by side in the religious world of the people, just as the bŏm-bu have taken over Lamaistic customs and vice versa.

Such customs may be magic practices in the widest sense, linked with all kinds of superstition; they can be prayers, sacrifices or oracles. Amulets are favorite magic symbols; they are preferably made by lamas and consecrated by magic formulas spoken over them. When we described the ornaments of the Fantzu we spoke of the rosaries and the small, square or round boxes worn on the chest and containing sacred objects of the Lamaist. These are worn throughout a lifetime, especially when there are unusual dangers, as for example, war. They are often presented to the laymen by lamas.

/55/ Small strips of silk tied around the throat are worn as amulets. The amulet boxes worn on the chest contain, for example, magic writings of an incarnation, bits of clothing, nail parings, hair or remnants of sacrifice of an incarnation, even his excrement; also pills which are made by the incarnation and which are given as a present if one kowtows to the incarnation. These pills may also be kept in the tent in front of the family altar. It is believed that after a month or more small pills originate from the initial large one, and that these can protect the body from all kinds of diseases. Small scraps of clothing of an incarnation are known as nam-sa, the pills, mani-je-la.

I was unable to get any information about special superstitions relating to unerring marksmanship or imperviousness to bullets. However, I learned of a symbolic act of magic to ward off the threat of war or bring about victory. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu (late summer of 1936) they were very much afraid of the Communist army which was at that time on its famous march to the north. In the large lamasery of He-tso I observed that hundreds of small figures were being made of a mixture of water, barley flour and butter and that these were painted red.